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State and Interest

OF THE

NATION,

With respect to His

Royal Highness

THE

Duke of York.

Discours'd at large; in a *LETTER*
to a Member of the Honourable
House of Commons.

LONDON,

Printed in the Year, 1680.

THE
Interest
of the
Three Kingdoms,
With respect to the
Business
of the
Black Box,
& all y^e other
Pretensions,
of his Grace y^e Duke of
Monmouth,
Discus'd & Asserted.

In a Letter to a Friend.

London.

Printed in y^e Year, 1680.

Both these Titles are to this one Brooke.

THE
State & Interest
OF THE
NATION, &c.

SIR,

§ I. **W**ELL were it for this poor distracted Nation, were there less ground, than there is, for your Opinion, that it is not the particular Case of your Friend only, but of a great many (otherwise) Worthy and Eminent Persons, to be misled, and intoxicated, by the plausible pretence of a *Free Estate*, into a passionate Fondness, and Admiration of a *Popular Government*: never distinguishing betwixt the *Form* and *Essence* of a *Commonwealth*; the mistake whereof (each for the other) has prov'd so fatal in this Age; nor calling to mind that it was the misfortune of those that surfeited of our *Kingly Regiment*, and gap'd as impatiently after *Novelty* as any now adays can do; to lose the substance of *Liberty* and *Happiness*, in persute of the *Shadow*. Nay, too too

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many, I fear me, there are, that sacrificing all considerations of *Conscience* and *Religion* to their *Mammon*, Interest, do labour with all the Vigour and Artifice imaginable to create in the *Multitude* a loathing of their present *Manna*, and a fresh longing for their late *Ægyptian Leeks* and *Garlick*. So that you are not to look upon my Endeavours to set things aright, as to this Point, to be the pure effects of my Compliance with your *Desires* for the satisfaction of your *Friend*, but rather of a pressing and indispensable *Duty*.

NEITHER your *Friend*, nor any other *Republican* will, I presume, maintain that a *Free Estate* (as they call it) is subject to no Violations; because woful Experience will confute, and force them to confess either that a *Commonwealth* may *Degenerate*; or, at least, that the so much cry'd up Model of the *Late Times* was no *Commonwealth*: And they must not only renounce their *Senses*, but even the *Faith* of *Story* also; which sufficiently proves that *Republiques* have been *sometimes* invaded with *Usurpations*; *sometimes* debauch'd and embas'd with *Oligarchy*; *mostly* (by reason of their Weakness and Divisions) *subdu'd* or compell'd to truckle under their *Neighbouring Princes*; but *always* tormented with *Faction* and *Convulsions*. Nor, in truth, has that *Party* as yet been able to produce any *Arguments* but such as, in effect, beg the *Question*; by presupposing great *Unity* in the *Coalition*, great *Probity* in the *Intention*, and great *Purity* in the *Exercise*; which being admitted, doubtless we should so little need to differ about *Forms*, that perhaps we should scarce need any *Government at all*. Now for my *Own* part (on the *other* side) I abhor *Bloodshed*, and deem *one* *Party* in all *Wars* guilty of *Murther*; a Crime which as it cries *High* for *Vengeance*, so ought it to cry *Lowd* for *Unity* and *Moderation*;

tion; into which blessed Path may *This* ballance us, that we be not again *Balotted* into a *Field of Blood*: I plead for *Liberty*; not the *Name*, but the *Thing*; and design not to assert *Tyranny*, but *Kingship*; (as it relates to the *Laws of the Land*) to whose protection I am entitled by my *Birth*, for the preservation of my *Freedom* in *Person* and *Estate*; and That with more assurance, then possibly can be secur'd under the *Government of Many*; who scruple not commonly to term that *Justice* (and without *Remedy* too) which is *down right Faction*. So that with these thoughts about me I shall readily acknowledge (you may imagine) that even *Monarchy* it self is but as *Earthen Ware*, (tho' of the *Finest* and *Strongest Sort*) and liable to sundry *Contingences*; *nothing under the Heavens being compleatly Perfect*. And in the Constitution of *Governments*, 'tis childish to think upon erecting *Babels* against the *Deluge*; but the *Design* must be, to *embank* against *Floods*, and *enclose* the best that may be against *Trespassors*. This being premised, I shall proceed to handle the *Matter* in debate, not *Metaphysically*, in *Notions* abstracted from their *Subjects* (a *Pastime* which our *Platoniques* much delight in) but *Morally*, and *Reasonably*; and enforce such *Arguments* only as are *plain*, *sensible*, and *appropriate* to our own *Countrey*; leaving the *Notional* to our *Book-men*, whose *Volumes*, calculated for all *Climates*, swell big against the *Evils* of the *Rule of MANY*, or *Democracy*.

§ 2. I SHALL not here presume to insist upon such *other* Insuperable Difficulties, (of a quality too High for a private person to meddle with) as must necessarily obviate the establishing of a *popular Platform* amongst us; But lay before you in the *First* place the present State of the Nation, so far forth only as may carry any

immediate Relation to the *Subject* ; and then apply the *Premises* to the Point in hand. This *Island*, now, is a large Continent, abundantly populous; and govern'd (I may say) by the Subordinate Influence of the *Nobility* and *Gentry* ; who live plentifully, and at ease upon their *Rents*, extracted from the Toyle of their *Tenants* and *Servants* ; and every one of them Acts the *Prince* within the Bounds of his own *Estate*, where he is purely *Absolute* ; his *Servants* and *Labourers* are in the Nature of his *Vassals*, his *Tenants* indeed are *Free*, but yet in the Nature of *Subjects* ; whom he orders in his *Courts*, draws Supplies from by his *Fines*, and Awes by his *Power* and *Oaths* of *Fealty*, to infinite Submissions. The more his *Manners* are, and the more indulgently he behaves himself (like a good *Prince*) the larger is his *Territory*, and the more awful are his *Commands*. A Neighbour more *Rich* and *Potent* gives Cheque to his *Inferiour* Neighbour ; and brings his *Petty-Princeship* into awe ; He again being overaw'd by one that is greater and more powerful than himself in *Estate* and *Friends*. But none of these, with respect to his *Quality* and *Estate*, will admit a *Parity* with his *Inferiour Neighbours*, much less with his *Tenant* or *Dependent*.

INTO the Rank of *Gentry* do our *Officers*, *Citizens*, and *Burghers* aspire to be enroll'd : So that no sooner by *Arms*, *Office*, or *Trade* do they acquire a competent *Stock*, but forthwith for *Land* it is dispos'd ; and then, disowning the Title of *Souldiers*, *Citizens*, or *Burghers*, they take to themselves the Degree and Name of *Gentlemen*, with *Arms* not improper ; for *England* within it self, has been so often shuffled from *High* to *Low*, that there is scarce any *Artificer* but may find his *Name* in the *Heralds-Book*, tho' not his *Pedegree*,

gree, which *Ingenuity* yet and *Good Will* may easily supply: And thus being Equipt with a *Title* and *Estate*, they set up suitably the *Dominion* within their *Territories*; which none can dispute, because they have no right to intermeddle with what any man *has* or *does* within himself: For by *Gentry* I intend not only such as are so in *Blood*, but so in *Quality* also; such as live easily, and like *Princes*, upon the Labours of their *Dependents*.

OUT of This Order are constituted our *Sheriffs*, *Justices* of the *Peace*, and all that execute the Authority of a *Judge*; by the influence of which *Powers*, they so order all *Elections* to *Parliament*, or *otherwise*, that the whole *Countreys* Commonly follow their respective *Factions*, and the *Commonalty* in their *Votes* are menag'd by *Them*, as a Horse by his Rider. So that as the *Agrarian* or *Interest* of *Land*, is principally in these Two *Ranks*; So is the Consequence thereof, *Dominion* and *Command*; which emboldens them to such a Height of *Spirit* (natural to our *Nobility* and *Gentry*) that they are too apt to undervalue Persons of Inferiour *Quality*, [*Burgesses* and *Mechaniques*,] with whom to *Inter-marry* by our *Old Law* it was a *Disparagement* for a *Ward*; and this *Spirit* of *Generosity* cannot be suppress'd, so riveted is it in their *Natures*, but by the Eradication of their *Persons*, or at least their *Qualities*; to which strange effect I have heard some *Grandeers* vent a Sense.

AND indeed the establishing of a *Free Estate* (so call'd) were otherwise *Desperate* and *Impracticable*; and therefore it was the *Course* that the prevailing *Mechaniques*, among the *Swisses*, were forc'd to take. How else

else shall we be levell'd to a *Parity*, which is of the very *Essence* of a *Commonwealth*? For as *Titles* and *Honours* are incident to *Kingship*; so also are Equality in *Place*, *Degree*, and *Birth*, to *Democracy*; unless where, in case of *Office*, for the *Time* only they are entitled to a *Precedency*. Reduced you must be, Sir, to the Condition of the *Vulgar*; *Commoners* already are you in *Title*, which yet is but a *Fallacy* of the *Name*, and excludes our *Statists*; for indeed you are so only *Representatively*, being rather the *Tribunes* and *Leaders* of the *Peoples strength*, and the *Governours* of their *purse*, then purely *Commons*. Neither yet will the bare obtaining of such a *Parity* be sufficient to do your *Friends* Business; unless there be a *Supreme Power* establish'd in some *Body Corporate*, Compact and Permanent; such as is That of *London*, where the *Grandure* of That City (but that it is never to be debauch'd into such a Degree of *Disloyalty* and *Fanaticism*) might possibly erect it Self into a *Free-State*, (could it once overcome all opposite *Interests*) and by that great *Magazine* of *Treasure* and *Men*, there embody'd, give Law to the whole *People* scatter'd as they are in a large *Continent*: Having, *First*, reduc'd some meet *Cities*, *Forts*, and *Castles*, which being Garrison'd from the *Head-Colony* would awe the *Countreys*, and mould them into a *Vassalage* competent to make up a *Free-Estate*. But then our *Nobility* and *Gentry* would neither have the *Honour* of the *Name*, nor *Benefit* of the *Thing*: 'Twill be instil'd the *Commonwealth* of *London*, not of *England*; And our Pay must be as *They* Impose, and our *Liberty* as *They* vouchsafe it; only in *This* it will be the less agreeable, that we must be *Subject* to our *Inferiours*.

NOR is This Discourse to be look't upon as meer
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Drollery ; for from This *Embrio* have issued those *Commonwealths* which are so fam'd in *Notions* ; as those of *Rome, Carthage, Athens, Lacedæmon, Corinth, Thebes, &c.* Great *Cities* of That Name, which having subdu'd their adjacent *Territories*, denominated the *Dominion* ; where-in only those of the *Freedom* (*Citizens* and *Denizens*) had *Vote* or *Power* ; the *Nobles* and *Gentlemen* being purely *Tributary* to the *Chief City* ; unless they transplanted themselves, renounc'd their *Cities*, and so, by degrees advanc'd into the *Honour* of a *Burgess*, as we now do exercise our *Junior* Issue. And little different are at this day the celebrated *Commonwealths* of *Venice*, the *United Provinces*, the *Swisses* ; not to instance in those *Petty States* of *Genova, Ragusa, Geneva, &c.* all of them mostly denominated from those *Principal Cities*, which give the *Law* to the adjacent *Provinces*. Those indeed of the *Hollanders* and *Switzers*, tho' they derive not, so directly, their *Title* from *One City*, yet are they (in *Substance*) of the same *Composure*, being only an *United Body* of *Corporated Cities*, combin'd in *One*, for *Mutual Defence* against *Invaders*, but of an *equal Power* to impose upon the *Adjacent Territories*, situate under the aw of each respective *City*, or *Town-Garrison*. It falls not within my *Memory*, that there ever was, or at This Day is, a *Free-Estate* in the whole World that's manag'd by the *Gentry* Inhabiting at large, or by any *People* not combin'd within the *Jurisdiction* of their *Walls* ; except the *Grisons* ; who are a scatter'd *People* of a mean *Quality*, having long since disown'd their *Gentry* ; and are without *Walled Towns* or *Garrison*. 'Tis a small *Territory*, possibly of extent to an *Inland Country* ; upon *Emergences*, the whole *People* at a set day, meet in the
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Open Ayre, where the *Major Vote* (as with you *Knights* of the *Shire*) cryes up the *Magistrates*, and *Determines Warre*. Their *Confusions* makes them easie for *Conquest*, were their *Country* worth it, and not secur'd by the *United Cantons*.

NOW to apply the *Premisses*; can your *Friend*, or any other Man of the same *Stamp* imagine, that our *Nobility* and *Gentry* (as now in *Power*) will ever be induc'd to admit a *Parity*; will level their *Degree* and *Domination* to a *Proportion* with their *Copy-holders*? Nay, will renounce the wearing of a *Sword*, and learn to make one? Will submit to become *Tributary* to the *Neighbour-Colony*? If this can be brought about; then perhaps (and not till then) may we again hope to aspire from our present *Glorious State* of *King-ship*, to a *Free-state* in *Clown-ship*; or at least, from the *Free-giving* of *Subsidies*, to the *Majesty* of a *Scepter*; to the *Forced-payment* of *Excise* to the *High and Mighty Burgher*; such as was that *High and Mighty Butcher*, who, not many years ago was commissioned by the *Swisses*, as one of the *Chiefs* to be *God-Father* to the *French Kings Son*. As *Plato* phansied his *Community*, and *Sir Thomas Moor* his *Utopia*; so are these people bigg with hopes of a *Relation*; thereby to reassume their *Idoliz'd Model* of a *Commonwealth*, out of the scatter'd *Gentry*, in the nature of a *House of Commons*. But if nothing but *New Experiments* will serve their *Turn*, I could wish they would find other *Subjects* to try *Conclusions* upon, than the *Estates*, *Lives*, nay, the very *Souls* of *Christians*. You well remember I'm sure, Sir, that we once ran the *Loss* of *Those*, and the *Hazzard* of
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These, upon the hopes of a *Chimera* in the *Brains* of some: The word *Liberty* deluded us into *Patience*, and *Patience* from 1648. to 1660. brought forth not less *Payments*, but more *Servitude*. And let them not hope to bring Countenance to their *Cause*, by alledging (as they did before) that they could never be permitted to foster up their *Babe* to full perfection; for that they will ever be opposed by all *Wise* and *Loyal* men, who having once experimented the *Evils* of such a *State*, will be as vigilant and industrious to keep it from getting footing among us again, as those that are *otherwise*, can be to bring it on. Beside that, you cannot have forgot, Sir, that from 1648 to 1653, they had it from the *Nurse*, and (had they stuck to their *Pretences*) might probably in five years time have set it upon its *Feet*; but they found the *sweet* (poor Wretches) of ingrossing *Power* to themselves: But then it could never have been of any long *Continuance*, as manifestly appear'd from the great scorn and bitterness that the *Supporters* of it were reproach'd with, when it was *dissolv'd*; there was not so much as one *Bloudy Nose* in the defence of that *High and Mighty State*; but all the persons were held in the utmost degree of *detestation*, as they most justly deserved. And though these *Rumpers*, 'tis true, came *twice* into play, yet were they only made use of to serve a *Turn*, as being fit to be made a *Property*; for it was presently seen that it was not the desire of *their Rule*, but of a *further change*, that inspirited the *People* against the *Army*; and the *Rump* (as being next at hand) had no sooner mounted the *empty Saddle*, but (before they were warm in their *Seat*) they were again *Unhors'd* with a *Publick Leave*, as appear'd by the *Bonfires* (upon That Occasion) that might have lighted them to the *Land's end*, if they had dar'd to be seen among them. So that it is plain from what has been said, that it is not the *sense* or *Interest* of a *Few*, that can long sway a *Nation*; for

if the *publick Spirit* be averſe, at the *long run* it will prevail ; the more Diſpute there is with *that Spirit*, the more embitter'd it will be found : For, whatever ſuch *Enthuſiaſts* may dream, even when the *Multitude* have the *Power*, the *Command* yet reſts in a *Few* : The moſt *active Spirits* lead the *Herd*, and ingroſs the *Place*, the *Proſit*, and the *Sway* : This, in generous minds, begets *Diſdain*, and *that*, *Faction* ; for when *all* are *equal*, thouſands think themſelves as deſerving of *Rule*, as thoſe that carry it ; to ſatiſſie *all* it is impoſſible, to pleaſe *few* diſpleaſes the *Moſt* ; the *Transactions* of *that Party* from 1648. to 1660. have made this as *ſenſible*, as they made themſelves *contemptible*. In a word, the *Nobility* and *Gentry* of *England* have *Spirits* pure, naturally juſt and generous, like *Fire* aſpiring, as a *Pyramide*, from *low* to *high* ; and never reſting till it contracts it ſelf into an *Unity* at *top* : So *God* is *One*, or he were not *God*, nor could he *Rule* the *World* ; and if your Friend likes not *this Preſident*, but ſtill continues to delight in the *Rule* of *Many*, let him begin a *Pattern* in his own *Family*, and he may *there*, poſſibly, have enough to do.

6. 3. NOW my hand's in, I ſhall venture to ſet one ſtep further, and reſreſh your memory with a *View* of our *Condition* whiſt this *Free-State* kept *above-Water*, the *Paſt* being the moſt certain *Line* to direct us in our *Conjeſtures* upon *Futurities*. We were never free (you may remember) from the *Apprehenſions* of an *Inſurreſſion* at *Home*, or an *Invaſion* from *Abroad*, and liv'd in continual jeſouſie, even of our very next *Neighbours*. Theſe *Fears* obliged us to maintain a conſiderable *Force* at *Land* and *Sea*, which, lying idle, corrupted, as *ſtanding-Water* in a *Pool*, and every moment threaten'd freſh *Combutions*, as they were blown up this way or that way by their new *Maſters* ; but at the beſt (like our old *Lord-Danes*) they were moſt

most insupportably burthensome and odious to the *Country*, by their *Quartering*; and to keep them as much in *action* as possibly we could, we were fain either to be perpetually amusing them with pretended Discoveries of some *new-feigned Plot* or other, or else to engage them in *Forreign Wars*. For the support of this Army (now) we were compelled to daily *Contributions*, besides great and innumerable *Customs* that were exacted, together with the *Excise*, (a *Brat* begotten in the *Low-Countries*, with their *State*, which makes them *free* indeed, but then it is in *Purse*, not in *Privilege*) a *Tribute* which no *King* of *England* durst demand, before they enforced us to pay it; which being ever before look'd upon as *Peyson*, we then took as *Physick*; though in that *Age*, it was generally believ'd that no *English-man* would ever swallow it; and for the bare but necessary *Mention* whereof, in the *House of Commons*, that *Grand Patriote* (as they call'd him) Mr. *Pym* was by a young *Spirit* (not without great *Applause*) call'd to the *Bar*; add hereunto the *Benevolences*, *Sequestrations*, *five and twentyth parts*, a *Tax* of *fifty Subsidies* at once, (though the late *King* suffer'd so much by the demand of *twelve* only) *Fines* and *Compositions*, sale of *Kings*, *Bishops*, *Déans* and *Chapters*, and *Delinquents Lands*, the *two parts* of *Papists Estates*, nay a share of our very *Charities* to the *distressed*; over and above the constant *Contributions* that were levy'd. How was all this devour'd by the *Army*, whose *Belly* indeed was bottomless; and yet what *Arrears* did we owe them just before the *King's Return*; three *Milions* at least! Reform the *Army* we durst not, and our constant *charge* could not be less than *two Millions* yearly, to supply it; In a word, we never us'd to be in a worse condition, than when none would Rebel, because when the *People* were quiet we had no *Lands*, either to *sequester* or to *sell*. Our *Trade* fell to nothing, our *Trafique* was interrupted, our

Gold walk'd *beyond Sea* more freely than in our own *Country*; and we lost no less than 2000 *Sail of Ships* in two or three years time: There was no *settlement*, but we were every day dancing after a new *Whistle*; ten *Models* we had in *Proposal* at one time, and every *Faction* ready with *Blood* to aver his own way to be the best. By our known *Laws* we could not be imprison'd, but by a Regular proceeding in a *Course of Justice*; but under our *free Estate* (on the other side) upon the most slight suggestions of a spiteful *Neighbour* in Authority, we were presently seiz'd by the *Serjeant at Arms*, with his exorbitant Fees! no *Bail*, no *Habeas Corpus*, no regular way of *Justice* to do us right! but, after a *Twelvemonths* stay in *Goal*, if we could make good *Friends*, and humble our selves to our potent *Adversary*, we might possibly be discharg'd; but without *amends*, or knowing of our *Crime*. Loe thus, while we cajol'd our selves with the *Name of Freedom*, we lost the *thing*, and became *free*, only to be made the most despicable of *Slaves*.

BY *this*, Sir, you see that the *Question* might be decided in a few words, only by alledging the *Inclination* of the People to *Monarchy*, as it is now established: For as no man can well be wrong'd with his *consent*, so neither is any man to be oblig'd against his *will*. And indeed how should a *Government*, founded upon *inequality* and *force*, ever subsist *without* it? Or a *State* that must necessarily be the meer *Adjective* of an *Army*, become a *Substantive*? With as much *Reason* might I also object matter of *Title*, because the same *Estate*, with a *flaw* in the *conveyance*, or clogg'd with *Statutes* and *Judgments*, is not surely of like value, as if it had been descended clearly from the great *Grandfather*, and were free from *Claims* and *Incumbrances*. But it shall be the next part of my *Business* to shew that the *present establish'd Government* (as it excellently

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complies with the *Laws*, *Genius*, and *Interest* of this *Nation*, so it) comprehends all the *Benefits* of a *Common-wealth* in great perfection; and this I shall do as *briefly* as I can.

TO demonstrate how it complies with our *Laws* and *Constitutions*, let it suffice, That (*Monarchy*, in these *Nations*, being more ancient than *Story* or *Records* more venerable than *Tradition* it self) our *Laws* were born (as it were) under this *Climate*, habituated to this *Diet* and *Air*, grafted into this *Stock*; and though we have (thanks be to God) forgotten our *Norman*, yet will it be very hard for us to learn *Greek*, much less *Utopian*; that in the late *Usurper's* time, our *Lawyers*, with one Voice, importun'd him rather to assume the *Stytle* and *Power* of a *King*, to which they found all our *Laws* were shaped, than retain that of a *Protector*, unknown to the *Law*: That nothing render'd the late *Architects* of a *Common-wealth* more obnoxious, than that (notwithstanding their infinite *Discords*, in other things) they generally agreed in the necessity of subverting all our *Fundamental Laws*, in order to their *Design*; which Consideration (we are in *Charity* to believe) obliged the sober men of all Parties, the true *Patriotes*, (nay and even the chiefest *Pillars* of the *Parliaments-Cause* too) to unite themselves with the *Royal Interest*; as not enduring to hear of those violent and dangerous *Alterations* which they plainly saw a *Republick* must necessarily introduce.

FOR its compliance with our *Genius*, examine we (in the first place) the various *Revolutions* that have happened to this *Island*; *Brittains*, *Romans*, *Saxons*, *Danes* and *Normans*; or (more nearly) the changes in their *Descents* from the direct *Line* to the *Collateral*; or (yet nearer) the times of *Insurrection* and *deposing Kings*, *Edward* and *Richard*, (both the *Seconds* of the name) and we shall find
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King-ship still in fashion. Nay, that of *King John* is more notorious, for when the People had in a sort *dethron'd* him, and sworn *Allegiance* to *Lewis* of *France*; yet when *John* dy'd, the same People not only *Expelled* the *Foreigner*, but having got the *Power* into their own hands, they *Crowned* *King John's* Son, being then an *Infant* without *Interest* or *Adherents*: Nor will all our *Chronicles* afford us one single *Instance* of any *Design* or *Endeavour* to erect a *Free Estate*, (before the late *unnatural times* furnish'd the *President*) no not when *Wat Tyler*, or *Jack Straw* revell'd it with their *Clowns*. Nor yet is this *Genius* ever to be chang'd, for Reflect we (in the *second place*) that as our *English Nature* is not like the *French*, supple to *Oppression*, and apt to delight in that *Pomp* and *Magnificence* of their *Lords*, which (they know) is supported with their *Slavery* and *Hunger*; Nor like the *Highland Scots*, where the *Honour* and *Interest* of the *Chief* is the *Glory* of the whole *Clan*: So doth it as little (or less) agree with the *Dutch* humour, addicted only to *Traffick*, *Navigation*, *Handicrafts*, and sordid *Thrift*, and (in defiance of *Heraldry*) every man phansying his own *Scutcheon*. For does not every one amongst us, that has the name of a *Gentleman*, labour his utmost to uphold it? Every one that has not, to raise one? To this end, do not our very *Teomen* commonly leave their *Lands* to the *Eldest Son*, and to the other nothing but a *Flail*, or a *Plow*? Did not every one (in the days of our late blessed *Martyr*) pinch himself in his Condition, to purchase a *Knight-hood* or small *Patent*? What need further proof? You cannot but remember, Sir, how that bare glimpse and shadow of *Monarchy*, under *Cromwel*, and his Son *Dick*, (though persons even at that very time *hated* and *scorn'd*, and that too upon a most impious and scandalous account) was for meer resemblance sake admitted as tolerable and (in respect of a *Common-wealth*) courted; which

which clearly evinces, how grateful the *substance* must needs be to all *true English Spirits*.

AS to our *Interest*, briefly, (to wave *tedious* and *Politick Discourses*) there is no man, but with half an Eye may foresee that a *Republick* (were there any possibility of settling one) would destroy all our present *Peace*, and *Felicity*, ruate our *Trade* and *Traffick*, involve us in a *Field of Blood*, alarm all our *Neighbours*, make our best *Allies* our bitterest *Enemies*; and probably draw upon us the united force of *Christendom*, to crush the *Embryo*; which would be the utter *destruction* and *enslaving* of this most free and *prosperous Nation*, (could it but once be capable of a due *sense* of its own *Felicity*) to the *Tyrannical Domination* of a *Foreigner*. Beside, (at best) by what *Title* can we pretend to hold *Scotland* and *Ireland*, should that of *Descent* be avoided; for *Consent* there is none, nor can any be expected.

§. 5. BUT I come now directly to assert, That the *Present Government* eminently includes all the *Perfections* of a *Free-Estate*, and is the *Kernel* (as it were) of a *Common-wealth* in the *Shell* of *Monarchy*. And, first I shall begin with the *Essential Parts* of a *Common-wealth*, which are three, viz. the *Senate proposing*, the *People resolving*, the *Magistrate executing*. For the *Senate* (or *Parliament*) if ever there were a *Free* and *Honourable* one under the *Cope of Heaven* it is here; where the *Deputies* of the *whole Nation* most *freely* chosen, do with like *freedom* meet, propound, debate, and vote all matters of *Common Interest*; no *Danger* escapes their representing, no *Grievance* their complaint, no *Publick Right* their claim, or *Good* their demand: In all which, the least breach of *Priviledge* is branded with *Sacriledge*; and though there lyes no *Appeal*

peal to the *dispersed Body* of the *people*, (a *Decision* manifestly impracticable in *Government*, and fitter indeed for *Tribunes* to move, then *Nations* to admit) yet (*Elections* being so *popular* and *conventions* frequent) the same end is attained with much more *safety* and *convenience*. The *Prince* may likewise (in some sense) be said to have only an *Executive Power*, which he exercises by *Ministers* and *Officers*, not only *sworn*, but severely *accountable*; and though both *He* and the *Lords* have their *Negatives* in passing of *Bills*, and though it be the *King only*, that, by his *Royal Fiat* makes our *Laws*; yet (no *Tax* being impossible but by the *consent* of the *Commons*, nor any *Law* (without it) of such *validity*, that the *Ministers* of *Justice* dare enforce it) there is a *wise* and *sweet necessity* for the *King*, and likewise for the *Lords* to pass all such *Bills* as are convenient for the *People*, and not greatly *hurtful* to the *Prince*; and those that duly weigh the *Reason* of things, do find a *Negative* in the *King* to be a most safe *Preservative* of *Peace* to the *People*, who have as much *comfort* under the protection of his *Prerogative*, as they have *Benefit* by their own *Priviledges*: For in truth, this *Bug-bear Negative* (as our *Republicans* labour to represent it) is an impenetrable *Target*, to shelter and secure the *Government* from being alter'd at the *Will* of the *Commons*, if at any time they shou'd prove *Factionous*. And this (being in *reason* manifest) has also been confirm'd by great *Experience*; our *Kings* having rarely obstructed any *Bill* which they might safely grant; but on the other side, pass'd many *High Acts* of mere *Grace*, circumscribing their *Prerogative*, and clipping its *Wings*; nay better had it been for us, if they had not pierc'd its very *Bowels*.

This

THIS is that *Triple-Cord* that could never yet be broken, tho' it has been *Cut asunder* ; This is our *Gold seven times Refin'd* ; for every *Bill* being *Thrice* Read, Debated, and Agreed in *Either House*, is at last brought to the *King* for his *Royal Assent* ; (which is the *Mint* of our *Laws* :) a *Tryal* so exact, that surely no *Dross* can escape it ; since all *Interests*, must thereto concur : (as truly it is but fit they should, in the Establishment of *That* which must *Bind all*,) This is that *Temperament*, which purges our *Humours*, and (at once) indues us with *Health, Vigour, and Beauty* : no *Vote* is Precipitated ; no *Act* Huddled up ; as by sad *Events*, you saw they formerly us'd to be, when the *Power* was engros'd by *One* of the *Estates*, purg'd and moulded to the *Interests* of a *Faction* ; a *Consequence* but Natural to such *Premises* ! Nothing was (*There*) weigh'd, but (as in a Balance consisting of one Scale) our *Laws* were *Mandrakes* of a *Nights Growth* ; and our *Times* as *Fickle* as the *Weather* of the *Multitude*.

THE *King* indeed has the *Power* of *making War*, but then he has not the *Means* ; so that it signifies little more, than a *Liberty* to *Fly* if he can get *Wings* ; or to go *Beyond Sea*, provided he can waft himself over without *Shipping* : He has a *Sword*, but *Himself* alone can never draw it ; and the *Train'd-Bands* (in whom he has the *sole Right*) are a *Weapon* which he decently wears, 'tis true ; but the *Nation* only may (in *Effect*) be said to have the *Use* and *Benefit* of it. He chafes his *Ministers* ; (as who doth not his *Servants* ?) but then they pass through such a *Test*, as none but the soundest *Integrity* can abide ; He can hinder the stroke of *Justice* with his *Pardon*, (tho' still, the *Laws* not being muzzled, it will *Bite* terribly) but then (o: the

Other side) the Power of *Relieving* his *Wants* rests in the *Commons*, to Balance his *Will*, and induce him to a *Correspondence* with *Parliaments*.

THAT his *Person* should be *Sacred*, is most *Needful*, to avoid *Circulation* of *Accounts*; *Reasonable*, since it carries with it the *Consent* of *Nations*; *Just*, that he become not the meer *Bust* of *Faction*, and *Malice*, and be in a worse *Condition* then the *Basest* of *Vassals*; *Honourable*, that the *Nakedness* of *Government* be not daily *Uncover'd*; *Wise*, in the *Constitution*, that so we may not (at once) both *Trust*, and *Provoke*, by forcing him to shift for his *Own Indemnity*; no danger to the *Publique* seeming so *Extreme*, as the *Outlawry* of a *Prince*; no *Task* (by daily *Experience*) so difficult, as the *Arraigning* of any *Power*, whether *Regal* or *Popular*; and if we make *Golden Bridges* for *Flying Enemies*, much more should we afford them to *Relenting Sovereigns*: (Upon which account, in our Neighbour *Kingdom* of *France*, even *Princes* of the *Bloud* are not subjected to *Capital Punishments*.) Finally, very *Safe* it is in the *Consequence*; for should a *King* be never so *wicked* and *Tyrannical*, yet being (by the *Danger* threatning his *Corrupt Ministers*) stript of *Agents*, his *Personal Impunity* might signifie something to *Himself*, perhaps, but nothing to the *People*.

A *Revenue* he has, for the support of his *State* and *Family*, *Ample*; for the *Ordinary Protection* of his *People*, *Sufficient*; but for any considerable *Undertaking*, *Defective*; and for *Publique Oppression* so *Inconsiderable*, that when *Prerogative* was most *Rampant*, our *Greatest Princes* (and some doubtless we have had, the most *Renowned Warriors* of their *Age*) would never, prudently,

ly, aspire to make themselves *Absolute*. The *Royal Revenue* is proportioned to the Maintenance of *Courts*, not *Camps*, and *Fleets*: In fine, it is very *Competent* for *Ordinary Disbursements*, and as for *Extraordinary* he resorts to *Parliaments*; the *Wiser* He, and the *Happier* We! Now there is nothing more *Demonstrative*, then that upon Examination, we may find the *present Government* to be (compared with all the other *Models* of the *Late Times*) a mighty *Ease* to the *Publique Charge*; we allow'd the *Tyrant Cromwell* no less then a constant *Revenue* of 1900000 *L.* to support him in his *Usurpation*; and yet That Sum (beside all his other intolerable *Squeezings*) at the years end, clear'd not the Account by far. Under the *Rump* a great deal more was yearly Collected out of the *Bowels* of the People, to maintain the *Army*; and yet we could never be at quiet neither, but were perpetually embroy'd in *Wars* either *Abroad* or at *Home*, by our *active Spirits*, some to feed their *Ambition*, others their *Purses*: And such a *Spirit* we read of, working in all *Free-States*, *Ancient* and *Modern*. What shall we say now of the *Expences* of the *Late King*, (if examin'd by This *Standard*) whose *Revenue* in *Lands*, *Perquisites*, and *Customs*, exceeded not 700000 *l.* a year; and yet by the good management of that most *Thrift*y and *Temperate* Prince, that *petite Annuity* furnish'd a *glorious Court*, a *Noble Equipage* for the Honour of the *Nation*, and paid off a considerable *Fleet*; which never was much improved afterwards by all our vast *Payments*, when we were so unfortunate as to fall into *Other* hands. Nay and our *present Charge* is rather a *Sport*, then a *Burthen*, compared with Their *Monthly Tax*.

TRUE it is, that while we live with *Men*, we shall be
D 2 Subject

subject to *That* which is the Effect of their *Nature, Sin*; nor is it possible to reap the more *General Fruit* of the best Establish'd *Policy*, unless we submit to some possible *Inconveniences*. But yet I defie your *Friend*, and all other *Projectors* of *Commonwealths*, to contrive greater Freedom for their *Citizens*, then is provided by *Magna Charta*, and *The Petition of Right*; or shew that it is not much easier to *Violate*, then to *Mend* them; for *Thereby*, our *Lives, Liberties, and Estates* are, under *Monarchy*, secur'd and establish'd (I think) as well as any thing, on this side *Heaven*, can be. It is no *Solæcism* to say, that the *Subject* has his *Prerogative*, as well as the *King*; and sure I am, he is in as good condition to maintain it; the *Dependance* being less on his side. Beside that no *Prince* ever attempted any *Violation* thereof, but that, at *Long Run*, he suffer'd in that point of his *Prerogative* that let in the *Opportunity*. Hence it is that the *Rights* of the *People* have grown stronger and stronger against the *Prince*, and sometimes have hurried his *Person* to be a *Sacrifice*; always, his *Instruments*; whereof few, in our *History*, can we read, that, contriving against the *Law*, have died in peace. If, possibly, *One Prince* (as *King Harry*) by his *High Spirit*, swept all before him, yet his *Infant Successor* is forc'd to make amends for his *Fathers Violations*: So that *Liberty* (we see) is no less *Sacred*, then *Majesty*; *Noli me tangere* being its *Motto* likewise: And in case of any, the least *Infringement*, (as *Escapes* in *Government* may happen, even in the most perfect) it is resent'd as if the *Nation* had received a *Box on the Ear*. If it be (as they say) the *Glory* of a *Free-State*, to *Exalt*; the *Scandal* of *Tyranny*, to *Embase* our *Spirits*; doubtless the *Establish'd Form* is our *Only Commonwealth*; for all that we got by the *Change* of it, was but the learning quietly

to take the *Bastinado*. Nay, and at the very worst that can be imagin'd, it is much more *Easie* (were it *Lawful*) for us to dispute our *Rights* with a *single Prince*, and his *Trembling Agents*; then (as it was our *Case* formerly) with a *Knot of Sovereigns* that are backt with the *Sword*.

WE are now again able to distinguish (which we could never do under their Free-Estate, for all the fair Promises they made us) the Legislative and the Ministerial Authority: For tho' both of them are Inherent in the King, yet are not both of them his own Peculiar and Personal Act. We know that the *House of Commons* has not the Power of a *Court-Leet*, to give an *Oath*, nor of a *Justice of the Peace*, to make a *Mittimus*: And this *Distinction*, doubtless, is the most *Vital part* of *Freedom*, and far more considerable to poor *Subjects*, then all these mens pretended *Rotations*; as, on the contrary, the absolute *Jumbling and Confounding* of them, is an Accomplishment of *Servitude*, for which all Republics, I fear, (and our late one more especially) have more to Answer, then any *Limited Sovereign* can have. And certain it is, that as our *Prince*, in his *Personal Capacity*, makes no *Laws*; so neither does he, by himself, Execute or Interpret any: No *Judge* takes notice of his *single Command*, to justify any *Trespass*; no not to much as the breaking of a *Fedg*; his *Power* is Circumscribed by his *Justice*; he is (equally with the meanest of his *Subjects*) concern'd in that *Honest Maxim*; *We may do just so much, and no more, then we have Right to do*. And it is tolerably enough said, *He can do no wrong*, because, if it be *wrong*, he does it not; it is *void* in the *Act*, and *punishable* in his *Agent*. His *Officers*, as they are alike lyable, so perhaps they are more Ob-

noxious

noxious to *Inditments* and *Suits*, then any other; by how much their *Trespass* seems to be of a *Higher Nature*, and gives greater *Alarm*: His *Private Will* cannot Countermand his *Publique*; His *Privy Seal* still Buckles to his *Great Seal*, as being (in a sense) the *Nations*, as much as *His*; His *Order* Supercedes no *Process*; and His *Displeasure* threatens no man with an hours *Imprisonment*, after the *Return* of *Habeas Corpus*: An *Under-Sheriff* is more *Terrible*, a *Constable* more *Sawcy*, a *Bailiff* more *Troublesom*, then *He*: And yet by his *Gentle Authority*, by this *Scabbard* of *Prerogative* (as some in derision have lewdly *Term'd* it) which (if it *Would*) *Could* Scarce Oppress an *Orphan*; *Tumults* are *Curb'd* *Faction* *Moderated*, *Usurpation* *Forestall'd*, *Intervals* *prevented*, *Perpetuities* *Obviated*, *Equity* *Administer'd*, *Clemency* *Exalted*, and the *People* made *Happy* to a degree even of *Satiety* and *Wantonness*.

TO Conclude this *Point*: What shall I add more? The *Act* enjoyning the *Keepers* of the *Great Seal*, under Pain of *High Treason*, to *Summon* a *Triennial Parliament*, of Course, by *Virtue* of the *Act*, without *Further Warrant*; The *Act* forbidding the *Privy Council* to intermeddle with *Menum & Tum*; the *Law* abolishing the *Star-Chamber*, *High-Commission*, &c. Branding all *Past*, and Bridling all *Future Enormities*: The *Statutes* limiting the *Kings Claims*, and relieving his *Tenants* from *Exaction* of *Forfeitures*; Beside many other principal *Immunities*, wherewith (by the *Especial Favour* of *God*, and the *Bounty* of our *Princes*) we are *Blessed*, far beyond any of our *Neighbours*: Above all, our *Assurance* (by the *Goodness* and *Clemency* of our present *Dread Sovereign*) readily to obtain such further *Addition* and *Perfection* of *Liberty* and *Security*,

curity, (if any such there can be) as may consist with *Modesty* and *Liberty* it self, to ask : Does not all this Proclaim aloud, that we are the *Mirrou* of *Governments*, *Envy* of *Monarchies*, and *Shame* of *Commonwealths* ; who cannot but blush to see themselves so Eclipsed and Silenc'd, in all their *Pretences* to *Freedom* ? And does it not more than justifie my *Affertion*, that with all the *Ornaments* of the Noblest Kingdom, we have likewise all the *Enjoyments* of a *Free-Estate* ?

§. 6. AFTER all these solid *Blessings* and *Advantages*, which we Reap from the most Excellent of *Governments*, and of *Princes* ; the bare *Fruition* of the *Tithe* whereof, would be sufficient to transport the *Best* to pass of our *Neighbour Nations* into all the Cordial and Passionate Expressions of *Joy* and *Gratitude* imaginable : After all these *Comforts* (I say) a Body would think, there should scarce be found one single *Murmuring* and *Disaffected Person* in the whole *Kingdom*. And yet so *hard* is our *Fate* ; our *Hearts* insensible ; and so Ingenious are we in starting *Fears* and *Jealousies* ; that a great part of us deprive our selves of the *Enjoyment* of all our present *Felicities*, through a too Eager and Pensive Solicitation for *Futurities*. Nay so miserably Hood-wink'd is our *Reason*, that our Carefulness to avoid miscarrying upon a *Scilla*, hurries us Violently into the other *Extreme* of splitting upon a *Charybdis*: *Popery* and *Tyranny* (we cry) are breaking in upon us like a Deluge ; the *Presumptive Heir* is of the *Red-Letter Stamp* : and therefore another Sect of our *Pseudo-protestants*, apprehending the *Danger* and the *Impracticableness* of a *Commonwealth-Government* here amongst us, do hope to mend the matter mightily, by propounding the setting up of a *Single Person* either of a
Crack'd

Crack'd Title, or of a *New Line* ; upon the death of his present Majesty without Legitimate Issue : Whom God preserve.

THERE is no man shall be more willing than my self to grant that the *Popish Religion* (if it may deserve the Name) is little better than a *Compound* of meer *Secular Interest*, *Tyranny*, *Hypocrisie*, *Fornication*, and *Delusion* ; and that the very *principles* of the *Jesuits* do inspire and egg them on to the inflicting of all manner of *Outragious Violences* upon the Persons of those that enjoy a greater *Light* and *Purity* of the *Gospel* than themselves. But yet I must averr (on the other hand) that, since through the peculiar *Mercy* and *Providence* of God, and the *Indefatigable Industry* and *Vigilance* of *Authority* ; all their *Machinations* have hitherto been defeated, and their *Conspiracies* both against our *Church* and *State* rendred Abortive ; it will become us both as *Men* and *Christians*, to temper our *Passions*, and to rest satisfied with the singular *Care* and *Concern*, that the Government vouchsafes continually to express both for our present and future *safety* and *preservation*, in all Respects. Full well I know, that nothing is of greater Concernment then the Security of that *Religion*, which by the Bloud of so many blessed and Glorious *Martyrs* has (by Gods immediate blessing) been so firmly Establish'd amongst us. But then we are to take special heed that we lend not too easie an *Ear* to such as cry up *Religion*, & design *Faction* ; that cry out *Zeal* for the *Lord of Hosts*, when they intend *Self-Interest* ; to keep up a party ; an *Affected way* ; or to be the *Ipsedixit* of a *County* : *Religion* has not at all prosper'd by undue practices to advance it. 'Tis *Meekness*, *Patience*, *Humility*, and those *Graces* of the *Spirit*, that *Convince* and *Convert* ; when

Rigidness,

Rigidness, Censuring, and the Sword Exasperate and Harden. Has not Gods power, or truth, Evidence to secure it self? Let but the Gospel have *Free passage*, and it will make its own stay: For all true-Protestants do unanimously dilown the Promotion of it by the *Sword*, as totally *Unchristian*; and bequeath it to the *Pope* and the *Turk*. Was not, now, the maintenance of our *Fundamental Laws* the pretence of our late *Quarrel*? Found we not the *Spirit* of the *Nation* rouz'd up, upon the sound of the *Trumpet*? *Popery*, was it not decry'd, and *Religion*, *Protestant Religion*, judg'd to be in danger? Were we not call'd out to the *Battle* upon the account of *Zeal*, with *Curse ye Meroz*? And yet under our *Free Estate*, (as they call'd it) our *Religion* (so much of it especially as could any way be term'd *Protestant*) turn'd into *Wantonness*; and our *Divisions* became so great, that we durst not exasperate, by advancing that *Idol* of the *Presbyters*, *Discipline*; nor indeed could we, if we durst; for the most active of our *Statists*, (if they had any *Religion* at all) 'twas that of the *Sectary*, which they own'd as the main *Supporter* of their *Model*, whose Interest it was to give *Licentiousness* to all. As for *Laws*, those which we ador'd for *Excellency* and *Antiquity*, they were (by them) of necessity alter'd, in our *Freedoms* of *Person* and *Estate*, wherein true *Liberty* is principally concern'd: For when the *House of Commons* (or rather the *Rump* of it) engross'd the *Sovereign Power*, they both *Impos'd Taxes*, and *Levy'd* them, by vertue of a trifling *Ordinance*, which could never be done before, but by an *Act of Parliament*, solemnly and regularly pass'd by the *King* and the *Three Estates*: And having of *Tribunes* of the people, (as it were) and their *Eulwark* against *Higgs Payments* and *Impressures*, demanded by the *King*, advanc'd themselves into the degree of *Princes*; they took

upon them to *assess* and *impress* us at pleasure ; and we might complain as long as we would of the *Reiterated Burthen* ; but there was no *remedy* but *Patience*, because no *Appeal* left us, themselves being both *Parties* and *Judges*.

- I COULD heartily wish there were at present no more reason, to be apprehensive of *Poper*y coming amongst us, then there was in those days: But yet, let his *Royal Highness's* *Perswasion* be what it will, this I'm sure of, that *Dr. Oates* has deposed upon *Oath*, that the *Jesuits* were so far from *saying* or *acting*, *Indifferently*, as to his *Person*, that in their *Hellish Plot*, they had mark'd him out also for *Slaughter*, with his most *Royal*, most *Protestant Brother*. Now the late *Marquess* of *Argyle* was wont to lay it down as a *Principle* in *Policy*, That it was the *Character* of a wise man not to let the *World* know what *Religion* he was of : But (for my own part) I cannot in *Charity* but hope the *best* of a *Person*, (till I shall be convinc'd of the contrary, by more certain and positive Arguments, then any that I have yet been able to meet with) that has been so *Lectur'd* and *Tutor'd* by our late *Glorious Martyr*, (as well as by *Experience*) into a *Veneration* for, and a *Perseverance* in that *Pure, Reformed Religion*, the *Principles* of which he suck'd in with his very *Milk*, and in *Defence* of which his ever *Blessed Father* laid down his most precious *Life*, upon a *Scaffold*. You may read his words thus ; " I do require you, (*addressing to his present Majesty*) as your *Father* and your *King*, that " you never suffer your *Heart* to receive the least *Check* " against, or *Dis-affection* from the *True Religion* established in the *Church of England* : I tell you I have try'd " it, and after much *Search*, and many *Disputes*, have " concluded it to be the *best* in the *World*, not only in
" the

"the *Community*, as *Christian*, but also in the *special Notion*, as *Reformed* ; keeping the *middle way* between "the *Pomp of Superstitious Tyranny*, and the *Meanness* of "Phantastick *Anarchy*, &c. To this sence, spake he, when he had no more to speak. Nay, and so zealous, this way, was our *English Solomon*, (the *Duke's Grandfather*) *King James*, that rather then any of his *Progeny* should ever come to be tainted with the *Errors* and *Idolatrics* of the *Church of Rome*, he made it his *Prayer to Almighty God*, that they might be taken out of the *World* first.

AS to the apprehensions of *Tyranny*, I hope, by what I have already deliver'd in the *Body* of this *Discourse*, it is evident, that there is less ground to fear it, then many people might before imagine, for that it is next to an *Impossibility* to introduce it. And, upon probable grounds, I perswade my self, that should the *Duke* ever have the *occasion* offer'd, yet would he be wiser then to make tryal of the *Experiment*, knowing so well as he must needs do, that should the *English Liberties* be violated in the example but of any one single *Person*, the whole *Nation* would take it self to be concern'd upon that account, apprehend it self ready for the *Fetters*, and, thereby, what with *Fear*, what with *Hate*, such a Storm would be rais'd, as might shake the surest *Foundations* of the *Government* ; and so very much has *Majesty* already felt by the *Fury* of the *People*, that it will be chary (doubtless) of giving occasion to encounter it again.

BUT 'tis farther *Objected* (it seems) that there is a *Vindictive* and *Implacable Spirit* in the *Case*. Now this is most manifest (indeed) that there have been *Provocations* to the *height* ; but shall we therefore *continue* to pro-

woke, because we have begun ? 'Tis a Rule (you know) that he that *does wrong*, never forgives, but he that *has wrong*, may. The Interest of *Revenge* is passionate, but the Interest of *Profit* arises from a *Passion* that prevails more, and he is very *weak*, that anteposes *Rumour* and *vain Passion*, when it stands in Competition with his *Safety*. To speak home, *Interest* rules the whole World; and *Princes*, (as *others*) design more the security of their own *Greatness*, than a *petty Revenge* that may hazard it: But for this search we the *Experiences* of *past Ages*. *Henry* the Great of *France*, was so far from *punishing* any of the *holy League*, that labour'd, by all means possible, to keep him from his *Right*, and to *murder* him, that (on the *contrary*) he employ'd those very Persons that were his *main Opposites*, in his *Armies*, in his *Offices*, and in his *Councils*. And what shall we say of *King James*, who sent *Messagers*, made *Vows*, menac'd *Revenge*, and all to prevent that fatal *Stroke* from falling upon his *Mother*, (the *Queen of Scots*) under *Queen Eliz.* but to no effect. Observe the *Issue* now; Shortly *Q. Eliz.* dies, and those very *Lords* that acted personally in the *Mother's Death*, were the most forward to *court* the *Son* to the *Crown*, and he became establish'd with all *Prepogatives* incident to the *English Scepter*. What? Acts he in the way of *Revenge*? No; he, like a *wise Prince*, feeling the *Warmth* of so *Rich a Climate*, is so passionate to confirm his own *Greatness*, that he not only *forgets* the *Injury* of his *Mother*, but manages his great *Affairs* by the hands of those very Persons that were *Contrivers* of it; yet through *Her Bloud* did he derive his *Title*! Nor do we read of one of these *Nobles*, or their *Issue*, that suffer'd *Diminution*, by any *Resentment*, upon *that* account. His *wise Father* also, that had been beaten into the knowledge of the *English Spirit*, writes thus: "Let no *Passion*, (my
"Son)

"Son) betray you to any study of *Revenge* upon Those
 "whose Own Sin and Folly will sufficiently Punish
 "theu, in due Time: Be confident that most of all *Sides*
 "that have done *Amis*, have done so, not out of *Ma-*
 "*lice*, but *Mis-information*, or *Mis-apprehension* of
 "Things. None will be more *Loyal* to *Me* or *You*, then
 "those Subjects, who, sensible of *Their Errors*, and *Our*
 "*Injuries*, will feel, in their own *Souls*, most Vehement
 "*Motions* to *Repentance*, and earnest *Desires* to make
 "some *Reparations* for their former *Defects*, &c. The
 like said he at his *Last Four*. But what do we *Doubt*
 or *Dis-trust*? May we not have a *Protestant Parliament*
 upon all *Exigencies*; and the disposal of *Commands*
 and *Offices* secure to us, for a *Time*, in case of His *Maje-*
sties decease? Have we not a *Protestant Council*, a
Protestant Militia, a *Protestant Clergy*, and a *Protestant*
People; what can we (in reason) desire more?

§. 7. AS to the Project of erecting a *Crack'd Title*, on a
Single Person of another *Line*; (over and above the
 Heinousness and Impiety of the *Proposition*, and to
 wave tedious *Carvassings*) That must unquestionably
 be the most *Desperate* of all other *Remedies*, and infi-
 nitely *worse* then the *Disease* it self: For *Thereby* we
 should set on Foot a *personal Quarrel*; and (at the *Long*
Run) beyond measure *Disgust* the *Spirits* of this *Gene-*
rous People, in that they will then be *Subjected* to their
Equal; who, to retain his *Usurpation*, will be forc'd to
 repeat and accumulate those *Violences*, whereof we had
 most woful Experience under the *Old Protector*: *Other-*
wise, he will soon be made the *Object* of our *Contempt*;
 as was his *Son*, with his *Easie* and *Gentle* way of *Acting*;
 and his Name be used only as a *Cloak* to cover the
Avarice, and *Exorbitances* of a *Ravenous Faction*. Nor
 can

can This *Project* prevent a Relapse into our former *Calamities*; because our Fears will ever be *Great* and *Continual*, and, consequently, our *Charge* proportionable. In a word, all the *Evils* and *Miseries* that were brought upon us by the *Army*, the *Rump*, and by all other *Architects* of our *Slavery* in the *Late Times*, will certainly be found *Tolerable*; compared with the *Probable*, and *Genuine Effects* of such a *Desperate* and *Unchristian Proceeding*.

§. 8. YOU will not expect from me, (I'm sure, Sir) that I should so acquit my self of every *Objection*, as to leave all men satisfy'd; especially such as carry a *Ryass* of *Preferment*, *Profit*, or *Faction*; Men that have in Design *Exorbitances* of *Power*, or *Wealth*, will hardly, with *Arguments*, be reclaimed: And some there are (I know) that have so long possess'd their *Heads* with *strong Notions*, that they are not capable to take in *Reason*, against them; and thereupon, run on *Frantique* in Error, till there be a *Rotation* in their *Brains*: Such there are, that, with *Confidence*, so often have told a *Lye*, that, at length, themselves believe it to be a *Truth*: But we shall be too wise (I'm sure, should ever that day come) to prefer the *Interest* or *Wilfulness* of a *Few*, to the *Safety* and *Welfare* of the *Whole*. I shall not deny, yet, that it is easier to demonstrate what *may be Evil*, then positively to assert what *will be Good*: but however, comparing *Times* with *Things*, (as is above represented) I doubt not to Evidence, that to *keep where we are*, and to *be contented with our Lot*, is a Course much rather to be embrac'd, as that which, in great *Probability*, *may be Good*; then, by pushing at *Incertainties*, to pull down most lamentable *Confusions* and *Desolations* upon our own *Heads*, which certainly *will be Evil*.

I therefore ever was, and still am of opinion, that it is both our *Interest* and our *Duty* to embrace, with *Open Arms*, the ample, generous *Offers* of his most Gracious Majesty, in order to Provisions for our *future Security*, in point of *Freedom* and *Religion*: As for the *Rest*, let us but have our *Good Old Laws* duly put in Execution; and then (by Gods assistance) we shall be in a *Capacity* to Defie the *Pope*, the *Devil*, and all their *Works*, come what will come.

§ 9. Thus, Sir, have I run through the several *Heads* that you were pleased to propound. I have, in the *First* place, given you my *Reasons* why I conceive the Project of Fixing a *Free-Estate*, (as your *Friend* thinks fit to term it) here amongst us, would be utterly *Impracticable*; I have, in the *next* place, presented you with a *Summary* of those *Mischiefs* and *Distractions*, which were the Consequents of a *Like Attempt*, from 1640. to 1660. In the *Third* place, you find the Natural Bent and Inclination of the People to *Monarchy*, exclusively of any other Form of *Regiment* whatsoever, fully demonstrated; the *Royal Prerogative* Anatomiz'd; and an Account of those great *Immunities*, *Blessings*, and *Priviledges* which the *English* do at this day enjoy under the present *Government* Establish'd, both *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil*, peculiarly, and above any other People or Nation in the known World. The *Fourth*, rips up the Ground of our *Fears* and *Jealousies* of *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power* flowing in upon us, should the *Duke of York* ever come to Sway the *English Scepter*; and furnishes *Arguments* for the moderating and lessening our *Apprehensions* as to the *One*, and for the proving the almost *Impossibility* of Effecting the *Other*, were there never so great a Will and Disposition that way.

In

In the *Fifth* place, you have represented the *Danger* and *Impiety*, of Erecting a *Crackt Title*, or a *Single Person* of a *New Line*; together with the probable *Calamitous Effects* that would inevitably ensue upon such an *Attempt*. And *Lastly*, I have presum'd to offer my own *Expedient*, in reference to the Security of our *Religion* and *Freedom*, for the *Present* and for the *Future*. Upon the *Whole Matter*, if, by what I have written, I be so fortunate as to make your Friend a *Convert*, 'twill be an Infinite Satisfaction to me; because, thereby I may hope to *save a Soul*; but, at the worst, I may say with the Text, that *I shall hide a multitude of Sins*. Now should I frame twenty *Excuses* to you for the Length, the Inequality, the Insufficiency, the Incoherence, the Freedom, the Extravagant Rovings and Impertinencies, the Unskilful Management, nay and for the Boldness and Presumption of this Discourse: But I have neither Will nor Leisure to *Trifle* at such a rate. I am conscious to my self (no man more) of my great want of Abilities requisite for an *Undertaking* of such Weight and Importance; only I was resolv'd to let you see, that no *Considerations* whatsoever were of force (with me) to withstand the Authority of your *Commands*. I have unbosom'd my self to you, Sir, (under the protection of a *Private Letter*) with all the Frankness and Simplicity imaginable; not doubting but you will make such use of it, as may not redound to the *Disadvantage* of,

Sir,

Your most Obedient Servant.

Feb. 21.

1682.